

Message Text

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TO ALL AFRICAN DIPLOMATIC POSTS IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 262852

INFORM CONSULS AS APPROPRIATE

FOLLOWING REPEAT USUN 4295 SENT ACTION SECSTATE IMMEDIATE
INFO BONN IMMEDIATE BUCHAREST IMMEDIATE CARACAS IMMEDIATE
ISLAMABAD IMMEDIATE LONDON IMMEDIATE MOSCOW IMMEDIATE
NEW DELHI IMMEDIATE OTTAWA IMMEDIATE PANAMA IMMEDIATE
PARIS IMMEDIATE USLO PEKING IMMEDIATE NOV 3

QUOTE: C O N F I D E N T I A L USUN 4295

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PORG, UNSC, SF

SUBJ: ACCORD NEAR ON SECURITY COUNCIL ARMS EMBARGO
ON SOUTH AFRICA

REF: USUN 4264

SUMMARY: AMBASSADORS OF US, UK, CANADA, FRG, FRANCE, BENIN
MAURITIUS AND LIBYA HAMMERED OUT COMPROMISE SC ARMS EMBARGO
DRAFT RESOLUTION NOVEMBER 2 WHICH SUBSTANTIVELY FOLLOWED
WESTERN FIVE TEXT. MISSION EXPECTS RESOLUTION TO BE
APPROVED IN SC CONSULTATION NOVEMBER 3 AND FORMALLY ADOPTED
BY CONSENSUS FOLLOWING DAY. END SUMMARY.
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1. THE FIVE WESTERN MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL MET
WITH AFRICAN SECURITY COUNCIL REPRESENTATIVES MORNING
NOVEMBER 2 TO SEEK AGREEMENT ON A POSSIBLE COMPROMISE ARMS
EMBARGO RESOLUTION ON SOUTH AFRICA. MEETING PROCEEDED IN A
BUSINESSLIKE MANNER, NOTICEABLY DEVOID OF THE EMOTION AND
HOSTILITY WHICH HAD CHARACTERIZED PREVIOUS MEETINGS.

THE PROCEDURE INVOLVED FIRST ATTACKING SUBSTANTIVE DIFFERENCES ON THOSE PROVISIONS RELATING TO NUCLEAR DEVELOPMENT, EXISTING CONTRACTS AND LICENSES, AND OTHER MATTERS. ONLY AFTER A POSSIBLE BASIS OF AGREEMENT ON THESE WAS REACHED DID THE DISCUSSION TURN TO FUNDAMENTAL DIFFERENCES ON THE BASIS FOR THE SECURITY COUNCIL ACTION TO INVOKE MANDATORY ARMS EMBARGO. THE AFRICANS QUICKLY AGREED THAT THERE WAS A FUNDAMENTAL DIFFERENCE OF APPROACH AND STATED THAT THEY RECOGNIZED THAT THE WESTERN GROUP WOULD NOT CHANGE ITS POSITION. AFRICANS THEN AGREED TO RECOMMEND TO AFRICAN GROUP A DRAFT COMPROMISE RESOLUTION ON AN ARMS EMBARGO SUBSTANTIALLY IN ACCORD WITH POSITION OF WESTERN FIVE (SEE PARA 5 FOR TEXT).

2. NARROW DETERMINATION OF CHAPTER VII WSAS RETAINED. LANGUAGE ON CONTRACTS AND LICENSES CALLED FOR "REVIEW" AND NOT "REVOCATION." BAN ON NUCLEAR COOPERATION WAS NARROWED TO "NUCLEAR WEAPON DEVELOPMENT." AFRICAN GROUP ESSENTIALLY ENDORSED TEXT NOVEMBER 2. SC CONSULTATIONS SAME AFTERNOON MADE ONLY EDITING CHANGES, WITH ONE EXCEPTION. INDIA (JAIPAL) SUGGESTED THAT REVIEW OF CONTRACTS AND LICENSES SHOULD BE CONDUCTED "WITH A VIEW TO TERMINATING THEM." UK OBJECTED. FRG SUGGESTED ALTERNATE BRACKETED LANGUAGE. QUESTION WAS PUT OFF UNTIL NEXT SC CONSULTATION NOVEMBER 3, BUT IT IS MOST IMPROBABLE THAT CONTENTION ON THIS POINT WILL BE ALLOWED TO BLOCK CONSENSUS NOW ACHIEVED.

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3. SC WILL MEET IN CONSULTATION AT 3:00 PM NOVEMBER 3 TO POLISH FINAL TEXT. FORMAL SC MEETING AND CONSENSUS VOTE FOR COMPROMISE RESOLUTION SHOULD FOLLOW SOON THEREAFTER, PROBABLY NOVEMBER 4.

4. COMMENT: SIGH OF RELIEF AT WHAT NOW APPEARS TO BE SUCCESSFUL SOLUTION TO SC IMPASSE ON SANCTIONS ON SOUTH AFRICA WAS HEARD IN AFRICAN AS WELL AS WESTERN ACCENTS. AS COMPARISON OF TEXTS ILLUSTRATES, "COMPROMISE" DRAFT IN FACT REPRESENTS ESSENTIALLY COSMETIC CHANGES OVER CANADA/FRG DRAFT. FURTHER MISSION POST-MORTEM OF RECENT SC EVENTS FOLLOWS SEPTTEL.

5. TEXT OF COMPROMISE RESOLUTION FOLLOWS:

QUOTE: BEGIN TEXT. WORKING PAPER

THE SECURITY COUNCIL,

RECALLING ITS RESOLUTION 392 (1976) STRONGLY CONDEMNING THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT FOR ITS RESORT TO MASSIVE VIOLENCE AGAINST AND KILLINGS OF THE AFRICAN

PEOPLE, INCLUDING SCHOOLCHILDREN AND STUDENTS AND OTHERS
OPPOSING RACIAL DISCRIMINATION, AND CALLING UPON THAT
GOVERNMENT URGENTLY TO END VIOLENCE AGAINST THE AFRICAN PEOPLE
AND TAKE URGENT STEPS TO ELIMINATE APARTHEID AND RACIAL
DISCRIMINATION,

RECOGNIZING THAT THE MILITARY BUILD-UP AND PERSISTENT
ACTS OF AGGRESSION BY SOUTH AFRICA AGAINST THE NEIGHBOURING
STATES SERIOUSLY DISTURB THE SECURITY OF THOSE STATES,
FURTHER RECOGNIZING THAT THE EXISTING ARMS EMBARGO
MUST BE STRENGTHENED AND UNIVERSALLY APPLIED, WITHOUT
ANY RESERVATIONS OR QUALIFICATIONS WHATSOEVER, IN ORDER
TO PREVENT A FURTHER AGGRAVATION OF THE GRAVE SITUATION
IN SOUTH AFRICA,
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TAKING NOTE OF THE LAGOS DECLARATION FOR ACTION
AGAINST APARTHEID (S/12426),

GRAVELY CONCERNED THAT SOUTH AFRICA IS AT THE
THRESHOLD OF PRODUCING NUCLEAR WEAPONS,

STRONGLY CONDEMNING THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT
FOR ITS ACTS OF REPRESSION, ITS DEFIANT CONTINUANCE OF
THE SYSTEM OF APARTHEID AND ITS ATTACKS AGAINST NEIGH-
BOURING INDEPENDENT STATES,

CONSIDERING THAT THE POLICIES AND ACTS OF THE SOUTH
AFRICAN GOVERNMENT ARE FRAUGHT WITH DANGER TO INTERNATIONAL
PEACE AND SECURITY;

RECALLING ITS RESOLUTION 1818 (1963) AND OTHER
RESOLUTIONS CONCERNING A VOLUNTARY ARMS EMBARGO AGAINST
SOUTH AFRICA,

CONVINCED THAT A MANDATORY ARMS EMBARGO NEEDS
TO BE UNIVERSALLY APPLIED AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA IN THE
FIRST INSTANCE,

ACTING THEREFORE UNDER CHAPTER VII OF THE CHARTER
OF THE UNITED NATIONS,

1. DETERMINES, HAVING REGARD TO THE POLICIES AND ACTS
OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT, THAT THE ACQUISITION BY
SOUTH AFRICA OF ARMS AND RELATED MATERIAL CONSTITUTES A
THREAT TO THE MAINTENANCE OF INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND
SECURITY;

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2. DECIDES THAT ALL STATES SHALL CEASE FORTHWITH ANY PROVISION OF ARMS TO SOUTH AFRICA, INCLUDING THE SALE AND TRANSFER OF ARMS, AMMUNITION OF ALL TYPES, MILITARY VEHICLES, AND EQUIPMENT AND MATERIAL FOR THE MANUFACTURE AND MAINTENANCE OF ARMS AND AMMUNITION; PARAMILITARY POLICE EQUIPMENT; SPARE PARTS AND GRANTS OF LICENSING ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE AFOREMENTIONED;

3. CALLS ON ALL STATES BEGIN BRACKETS IN COMPLIANCE WITH THE TERMS OF THIS RESOLUTION END BRACKETS TO REVIEW ALL EXISTING CONTRACTUAL ARRANGEMENTS WITH THE LICENSES GRANTED TO SOUTH AFRICA RELATING TO THE MANUFACTURE AND MAINTENANCE OF ARMS, AMMUNITION OF ALL TYPES AND MILITARY EQUIPMENT AND VEHICLES; BEGIN BRACKETS WITH A VIEW TO TERMINATING THEM. END BRACKETS

4. FURTHER DECIDES THAT ALL STATES SHALL REFRAIN FROM ANY CO-OPERATION WITH SOUTH AFRICA IN NUCLEAR WEAPON DEVELOPMENT;

5. CALLS UPON ALL STATES, INCLUDING STATES NOT MEMBERS OF THE UNITED NATIONS, TO ACT STRICTLY IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE PROVISIONS OF THIS RESOLUTION;

6. REQUESTS THE SECRETARY-GENERAL TO REPORT TO THE COUNCIL ON THE PROGRESS OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THIS RESOLUTION, THE FIRST REPORT TO BE SUBMITTED NOT LATER THAN 1 MAY 1978;

7. DECIDES TO KEEP THIS ITEM ON ITS AGENDA FOR FURTHER ACTION, AS APPROPRIATE, IN THE LIGHT OF DEVELOPMENTS.
END TEXT. UNQUOTE.
YOUNG
UNQUOTE VANCE

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Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
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Disposition History: n/a
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